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Resolutions and
regulations of the IX...

Moscow

1920

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Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Workers of the World, Unite!

**Resolutions and Regulations
of the
IX CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY**

(29th March—4th April 1920).

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Greetings of the 9th. Congress of R. C. P.
to the Red Army and Red Fleet
of the R. S. F. S. R.

The 9th. Congress of the Russian Communist Party sends greetings to the Red Army and the Red Fleet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Comrades! Your labour and your sacrifices have saved the cause of the workers and peasants; you have defended with your breasts the great gains of the Social Revolution.

War was waged against you by all the forces of the old world; all the Russian landlords and capitalists. The Tsarist generals and the bourgeoisie of the whole world united in the attempt to crush the labouring masses, to destroy the Soviet Republic, to reestablish in Russia the old order, under which the exploiters breathed so freely and the workingmen found it so hard to live.

Yet, in this unequal fight you have emerged victorious.

The fire of revolutionary enthusiasm and your readiness for every sacrifice in the name of the emancipation of the working masses have proved stronger than the tanks, dreadnoughts and gold of your enemies. During two years of gigantic struggle against the tremendous forces of the enemy you have defeated the counter-revolutionary movement at home. You have destroyed the hired hordes of Koltchak, Udenitch and Denikin. You have repulsed the attacks of the world bourgeoisie, you have returned to the

Socialist State its richest districts, you have broken the cordon of the-hunger blockade and you have compelled the numerous enemies of the Soviet Republic to negotiate peace with her.

Soviet Russia has placed you at her borders; she entrusts you, her powerful sentry, with the protection of the most priceless treasure of the working people,—their freedom and fortune, their right to be independent masters of their own destiny.

You have carried out faithfully the task that was laid upon you. You have confounded all the plots of our enemies; you have won peace for the Soviet State and have enabled it to take up its principal task—the construction of a life of fraternal labour.

Once more you come to the assistance of your brothers, the workers and peasants. Retaining the rifle in one hand, ready to resist any fresh attempt of the enemy, you have taken the hammer and the axe in the other hand to assist in the difficult transition to peaceful construction.

More than that. Your defence of the freedom and the gains of Worker-Peasant Soviet Russia has served as an impetus to the International Social Revolution. Your struggle is an example to the workers of all the world and has awakened everywhere a desire to fight for the sacred rights of the workers, for the complete emancipation of the workers from all oppression and exploitation.

Neither the Russian nation nor the workers of the world will ever forget your heroism and your sacrifices. The glorious deeds of the Red Army and the Red Fleet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic will live for ever in the memory of the nation, rousing an enthusiasm and a will to struggle in the heart of every honest workman.

Long live the Red Army and Red Fleet!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the International Soviet Republic!

Long live the International Social Revolution!

Greetings of the 9th. Congress of the R. C. P. to the German Proletariat.

The 9th. Congress of the R. C. P. sends hearty greetings to the German workers and wishes them success in the difficult struggle which they have undertaken.

Brothers! Your unanimous manifestations, the successful general strike resulted in the defeat of the base attempt of the reactionaries to reconstitute the despotic regime, the domination of brutal militarism, a new orgy of imperialism.

The government of social traitors, bourgeois directors and catholic leaders, — a government guilty of oppressing the proletariat and of flirting with the generals who were preparing the coup d'état of the Kapp conspirators,—this government, oblivious of the past, is now making every endeavour to return to the position which you have gained from them and to renew their old policy of merciless suppression of the workers.

But you, comrades, have resolved not to allow this. You have not taken up arms for the purpose of returning the power to the executioners of the proletariat and the bourgeois lackeys, but for the purpose of attaining the complete liberation of the proletariat, of establishing the government of the working class and the socialist system.

The proletariat of Soviet Russia as well as of the whole world are watching with tense anxiety the heroic struggle in which you are engaged, full aware that the victory of the German proletariat will serve as a signal for the commencement of the International Social Revolution.

We firmly trust that you will achieve your high aim, that you will knock the arms out of the criminal bourgeoisie and will establish the dictatorship of the working class—this powerful lever for the liberation of labour from the capitalist yoke.

Long live the German proletariat!

Long live the German Red Army!

Long live the German Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the International Socialist Revolution!

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Long live the German Red Army!

Long live the German Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the International Socialist Revolution!

Resolutions of the 9th. Congress of the R. C. P.

Report of the Central Committee.

The report of the Central Committee has convinced the 9th. Congress of the R. C. P. that the activity of the former was carried on under the most difficult conditions of civil war, of energetic establishment of soviets and unprecedented growth of the Party.

The Congress is of the opinion that in spite of all the difficulties which the Central Committee had to experience the policy of the Party and the work of organisation was on the whole correctly and firmly carried out.

The Congress expresses its approval of the activity of the Central Committee.

The Immediate Problems of Economic Construction.

1. The Increased Productivity of Labour.

The Congress is pleased to recognize the undoubted signs of increased productivity of labour among the leading workers; it, however, considers it its duty to warn all local and central institutions of the Soviet Republic against exaggerating the value of the results attained.

The only condition under which labour can gain really important results is firstly, if every attempt will be made by further agitation and organisation of our party and of the trade unions to inspire the many-millioned labour masses of town and country with the necessity for energetic, enthusiastic work and increased productivity of labour, and, secondly, if the central and local economic organisations will take all the necessary measures to keep a sharp eye on all the manifestations of the increased

productivity of labour, both quantitatively and qualitatively; in due time and correctly to effect a complete utilisation of the flow of labour power, to eliminate disunited efforts, small kустar industries, labour partisanship, without entirely and harmfully suppressing all these but by leading them and establishing them within the limits of the general state plan.

II. Uniformity of the Economic Plan.

The basic condition of the economic regeneration of the country is the undeviating introduction of a uniform economic plan to be carried out in the nearest historic epoch. This economic plan is naturally enough, owing to the general economic collapse and impoverishment of the country divided into a number of consistent interdependent main problems:

a) first and foremost the improvement in the state of transport, formation and delivery of an indispensable reserve of corn, fuel and raw materials;

b) machine construction in connection with transport and for purposes of obtaining fuel, raw material and corn;

c) an increased production in machine construction for the manufacture of products of general consumption;

d) an increased production of articles for general consumption.

The cornerstone of the technical side should be the wide utilisation of electric power and all its latest improvements; this should be applied in the various stages of the general economic plan according to their respective importance:

1. The elaboration of the plan for the electrification of social production and the realisation of the minimum programme of electrification; that is to say, the utilisation of the principal sources of electric supply and of the existing electric stations as well as of a part of those which are now being erected in the various central towns.

2. The erection of district electric stations and main cables of electric transmission with a corresponding increase of the productivity of all manufactures connected with electric supply, etc.

3. The next step is the construction of electric stations in the various urban districts, the further development of an electric network and the gradual electrification of the most important industrial processes.

4. The electrification of industry, transport and agriculture. The economic centres of the Soviet Republic should lay all their plans in connection with the above chief economic plan; all the principal powers and means should in the first place be mobilised consistently and systematically to carry out the immediate economic needs.

As far as possibilities are arising in Soviet Russia for foreign trade, this should be entirely subjected to the requirements of the principal economic plan.

All auxiliary industrial processes—the need for which arises for the execution of the principal tasks—should be developed as far as there is real necessity. Productions which are not indispensable to the general plan of the economic period should be maintained only in so far as that can in no way interfere with the execution of the chief problems. In view of all this the current economic task of the Soviet economic centres must represent not only the mere sum-total of registered needs and requirements; but should emanate with an iron consistency from the whole economic plan which has been drawn up with a view to the forthcoming period.

The realisation of this plan is possible not by means of a casual, individual heroic effort of the leading elements of the working class, but by means of stubborn, systematic, organised labour attracting ever greater masses of workers. The success of this kind of gradually increasing mobilisation and labour education is only possible by a constant elucidation to the mass of the urban and rural workers of the essence of the economic plan, its consi-

stency and its tangible results, which, however, become possible only after a long term of intense work and great sacrifices.

III. Mobilisation of Skilled Workers.

The 9th. Congress approves of the theses of the Central Committee of the R. C. P. on the mobilisation of the industrial proletariat, compulsory labour service, militarisation of industry and the application of military detachments to economic needs.

In connection with the above the Congress decrees that the Party organisations should in every way assist the trade unions and the labour department in registering all skilled workers with a view to employ them in the various branches of production with the same consistency and strictness as was done and is being carried out to the present time with regard to the commanding staff for army needs.

Every skilled worker is to return to his particular trade. Exceptions, i. e. the retention of skilled workers in any other branch of Soviet service is allowed only with the sanction of the corresponding central and local authorities.

VI. Mass Mobilisation for Compulsory Labour Service.

It is necessary from the very beginning to place the mass mobilisation for labour service on a proper footing; that is to say to establish upon every occasion an as exact as possible proportion between the number of mobilised, their place of concentration, the extent of the labour problem in hand and the requisite amount of tools and appliances. It is equally necessary to secure technically competent and politically firm trainers and organisers for all mobilised labour sections; such organisers are to be

selected by party mobilisation of communist labour circles, just as that was done in the establishment of the Red Army.

V. Labour Rivalry.

Every social system whether based on slavery, feudalism or capitalism had its ways and means of labour compulsion and labour education in the interests of exploiters.

The Soviet system is faced with the tasks of developing its own methods of labour compulsion to attain an increase of the intensity and wholesomeness of labour; this method is to be based on the socialisation of public economy in the interests of the whole nation.

In addition to the propaganda by which the people are to be influenced and the repressions which are to be applied to all idlers, parasites and disorganizers who strive to undermine public zeal—the principal method for the increase of production will become the introduction of the system of labour rivalry.

In capitalist society rivalry assumed the character of competition and led to the exploitation of man by man. In society where the means of production are nationalised labour rivalry is to increase the total of the products of labour without impairing its solidarity.

Rivalry between factories, regions, guilds, workshops and individual workers should become the subject of careful organisation and of close study on the side of the trade unions and the economic organs.

The system of premiums which is to be introduced should become one of the most powerful means of exciting rivalry. The system of rationing of food supply is to get in line with it: so long as Soviet Russia suffers from an insufficiency of provisions it is only just that the industrious and conscientious worker receive more than the indigent worker.

VI. From Trust Centralisation to Socialist Centralisation.

The present form of industrial organisation is the form characteristic of a transition period. The Labour State has nationalised the capitalist trusts, complemented them with all individual enterprises of the same branch of industry and has combined after the same method all the branches of industry which were not formed into trusts under capitalism. This re-organisation has resulted in the entire industry of the country becoming a number of concurrent combines economically independent though united by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Under capitalism every trust was in a position to acquire the requisite quantity of material and labour power at the nearest goods market and labour exchange, whereas, under the present conditions these enterprises can receive all that they require both in material and in men only by order of the Central organs of the united organisation of public economy. Unfortunately the methods of the centralisation which were applied immediately after the expropriation of the bourgeoisie led to the monstrous form of red tape and delay which are of course of great harm to our industry. Under the conditions which existed at the time of the revolution and taking into consideration the vastness of the country, the extreme indifference and changeableness of the principal factors of production, the disorganised transport and communication, the uncertain methods and equally uncertain results of economic registration,—the imperfection and delay resultant was unavoidable.

The task of organisation consists in preserving and developing the vertical centralisation of Head State Departments combining it with the horizontal submission of the various enterprises to economic regions, where the enterprises of the various branches of industry of diverse economic importance have to draw their raw material, transport means, and labour power from the same sources.

VII. Oblast ¹⁾ Economic Organisations.

With regard to the extensive regions, which are situated far from the centre and where peculiar economic conditions prevail, the Congress finds it necessary to establish in the most immediate future competent and strong economic oblast organs which are to be represented by the state centres.

These oblast bureaux, composed of experienced men adhering to the general State policy, should be endowed with full authority for the control of local economic life, for on the purpose of uniting both the Provincial Councils of Economy and the Regional administrations, to carry out on the basis of a plan approved by the centre all the necessary alterations, transfer of raw material and labour power, etc., as circumstances may require.

In accordance with these tasks the staffs of the oblast bureaux should also comprise authorised delegates connected with the economic central administrations.

In view of the fact that oblast economic bureaux act in accordance with the powers with which they are authorised by the Soviet Government the regulations of the 7th. Congress of the Party apply also to the relations between the above oblast bureaux and the government (Provincial) Executive Committees.

The definition of the extent and frontier of those oblasts where oblasts agencies of the Centre are to be established is to be based on economic considerations. The oblast agency is to be represented also by the Labour Army in connection with questions of the utilisation of labour power at its disposal.

In view of the fact that in certain localities the Labour Army Councils, to a great extent fulfil the functions of

¹⁾ An oblast is an area uniting more than one goubernia (province) under one local organisation.

oblast economic organs, it is decided that in the future they should also deal with the same questions. If that will become necessary they may carry out all the necessary changes with regard to the administrative apparatus without resorting to the formation of other parallel oblast organs.

VIII. The Elaboration of a System of Socialist Centralisation.

A special commission is to be established at the Supreme Council of Public Economy and its local sections for the study of the question of coordination and the inter-relationship between the various economic organs, central and local; the simplest methods of obtaining the requisite quantity of raw material or amount of labour power for various enterprises; how to secure additional labour power and so forth, without applying in every individual case to the centre and without infringing the general State plans. Soviet Public Economy will change from the present form of centralisation, the kind which still bears traces of capitalist trusts, to an actual socialist centralisation which embraces under a single plan every sphere of public production in every part of the country. The following are the conditions: that improvement based on actual experience is constantly introduced, that the shortest possible distances are chosen for the transport of raw material and manufactured products and that the best methods are utilised for the application of the labour power of the oblast for the needs of the province, town and every district.

IX. The Organisation of Industrial Administration.

The chief problem in the organisation of industry is to create a competent, firm and energetic directorship, whether the question is one of an individual enterprise or of an entire sphere of production.

For the purposes of attaining a less complex and more exact form of industrial administration as well as in the interests of the economic management of the organising powers of the country the Congress finds it necessary to introduce in industrial administration instead of the hitherto prevailing management by collegiates and boards a management by single persons; the Congress therefore decrees the establishment of a one-man management in workshops and guilds and in factory and works administrations as well as decreasing the collegiates and boards in all the average-sized and more important links of the administrative productive apparatus.

The extremely important question of the drafting into industrial management of ever increasing circles of the working class should be solved by the application of a number of measures; the most important of which will be enumerated below, but none of which are to be carried out at the cost of the stability, competency and the simplicity of the apparatus.

Taking into consideration the fact that no absolute type of administration of Soviet enterprises, of combines of enterprises and of entire spheres of production has yet been established and also that the formation of the requisite cadres of administrators, directors, and so forth, is still in its initial stages—the Congress recognizes it both as possible and admissible, for the purposes of ultimately arriving at one-man management, to employ the following system in industrial administration, viz:

a) a trade-unionist working man managing-director, one possessing a firm will, the quality of persistence and in particular the capacity of selecting and employing specialists, engineers, mechanics, etc.,—is to have the technical assistance of an engineer;

b) a fully competent specialist engineer in the quality of actual managing director of the enterprise who is to be assisted by a trade union worker commissary fully authorised and bound to participate in every detail of the concern;

c) two or three workers, members of trade unions, in the quality of assistants to the managing director who must necessarily be a specialist; these assistants enjoy the right of control of every branch of factory administration, but are not entitled to suspend the orders of the managing director;

d) where there are small collegiates or boards working in close and harmonious contact, the several members of which form a complement to each other and who have proved by actual experience their efficient working capacity, are to be retained with the introduction of an extension of the rights and privileges of the president who is to be responsible for the work of the entire board. Collegiates or boards of the medium and higher organs of economic administration, such as government (provincial) Councils of Public Economy, regional administrations, chief departments and sections should be limited to a minimum number of members with a president responsible for the work of the entire administration.

At all events an imperative condition in the improvement of economic organisation and the increase of production is the actual establishment in every sphere of life of the repeatedly proclaimed principle of final and absolute responsibility of a given person for a definite branch, section or piece of work. The form of boards as practised in the process of discussions and framing of resolutions are unconditionally to give place to one-man responsibility and management in the process of execution. The degree of fitness of an organisation is to be judged by the measure to which functions, duties and responsibilities are strictly divided.

Note. A careful control of all work of administrations both with the aim of a constant selection of personnel and of a practical establishment of the best means of combining the activity of workers and specialists in administration is to be established by a special organ under the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

The organisation of leading industrial institutions whether managed by board or under single management must be carried on in agreement with the organs of the Supreme Council of Public Economy and the corresponding organs of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

Specialists who carry out the duties of directors or occupy analogous posts are to be appointed in the same way.

X. Mass Workers to be Attracted into Industrial Administration.

The Congress considers it indispensable to take energetic measures for the industrial organisation of the education of the whole masses of working circles and the constant attraction of fresh elements from the midst of the working class capable of carrying out organising work in production.

For this purpose:

a) to perfect the propaganda for the increase of production under the assistance of the trade unions and of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, not limiting it to appeals for increased production of labour only, but raising questions of a concrete and technical nature in connection with various spheres of industry and individual enterprises; to insist that every individual worker of a factory have a perfect idea of the character and place occupied by his particular factory in the general system of public economy; to introduce a systematic periodical (monthly, for instance) discussion of the report of the administration of the amount of work performed for the preceding month and of the industrial plan for the forthcoming month by a general meeting of all the workers of the factory;

b) to organise in connection with large individual enterprises or in connection with combines classes for the study of industrial administration, where the more

able workmen should be given an opportunity to acquire a practical training in the necessary elements of administration without interfering with their own productive work;

c) workers who have acquired such training are to be appointed as assistant foremen or assistants to the managing director of the factory;

d) workers who have acquired the preliminary practical qualifications are to be appointed to independent posts in connection with industrial administration, first in enterprises of secondary size and later on in more important concerns.

XI. Specialists in Industry.

Being of opinion that without a scientific organisation of industry even the widest application of compulsory labour service and the greatest labour heroism of the working class will not only fail to secure the establishment of a powerful socialist production but will also fail to assist the country to free itself from the clutches of poverty,—the congress considers it imperative to register all able specialists of the various departments of public economy and widely to utilise them for purposes of industrial organisation.

Without altogether abolishing the further necessary control over and severe punishment of all counter-revolutionary elements striving to utilise their offices for purposes of hindering and undermining the economic regime—the Congress at the same time reminds all the members of the party and in the most categorical form of the necessity of ideologically interesting and attracting all specialists into the sphere of the industrial interests of the Soviet Republic. The Congress makes it incumbent upon all party members to strive, in strict correspondence with the spirit and the letter of our programme, to establish an atmosphere of comradely collaboration between workers and

specialists whom the proletarian regime has inherited from the bourgeois system.

The Congress considers the elucidation to the wide masses of the workers of the tremendous character of the economic problems of the country to be one of the chief problems of industrial and general political agitation and propaganda; of equal importance is technical education, administrative and scientific technical experience. The Congress makes it obligatory to all the members of the party mercilessly to fight that particularly obnoxious form of ignorant conceit which deems the working class capable of solving all problems without the assistance in the most responsible cases of specialists of the bourgeois school. The demagogic elements who speculate on this kind of prejudice of the more backward section of our working classes can have no place in the ranks of the party of scientific socialism.

Registration of individual output or productivity of labour and the granting of corresponding individual premiums must also be carried out in a way suitable to administrative technical staff. Better conditions must be secured for our best administrators and engineers to enable them to make full use of their capacities in the interests of socialist economy.

A special system of premiums is to be established for those specialists under whose guidance the workers can attain the necessary qualifications to make them capable to accept further independent posts.

The prejudice against joining trade unions still held by the higher technical staff of our concerns and institutions must be completely eradicated. By including in their organisations doctors, engineers, surveyors, etc., the trade unions will, with the comradely collaboration of the organised proletariat, assist these elements to take an active part in the work of Soviet construction and will at the same time acquire the specific training and scientific knowledge and experience necessary to the workers.

XII. Chief Section of Political Propaganda of Ways and Communications.

For the most immediate future transport remains the centre of the attention and efforts of the Soviet Government. The improvement of transport is the indispensable basis upon which even the most moderate success in all other spheres of production and first of all in the food question can be gained.

The chief difficulty with regard to the improvement of transport is the fragility of the transport workers' union, which is due in the first case to the heterogeneity of the personnel of the railways amongst whom there are still a number of those who belong to the period of disorganisation, and, secondly, to the fact that the most class-conscious and best elements of the railway workers were at the various fronts of the civil war.

Considering wide trade union assistance to the railway workers to be one of the principal tasks of the party, which is the only condition under which transport can be raised to its due height,—the Congress at the same time recognizes the inflexible necessity of employing exclusive and extraordinary measures (martial law and so forth). Such necessity is the result of the terrible collapse of the transport and of the railway system and is to introduce measures which cannot be delayed and which are to obviate the complete paralysis of the railway system and together with this the ruin of the Soviet Republic.

Appreciating the Chief Section of Political Propaganda of Ways and Communications from this aspect the Congress looks upon this Section as a temporary organ of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government, pursuing simultaneously two inseparable aims, viz, the immediate improvement of the state of our transport by means of the organised activity of our trusted communists, the best representatives of the working class, and enlarging the trade union railway organisation by infusing in

it the best workers whom the above section despatches to various railway points, as well as by assisting the trade union itself to establish in its organisation an iron discipline, thus changing the railway union into an indispensable instrument for effecting an improvement in the railway transport.

Upon the execution of this work the Chief Section for Political Propaganda of Ways and Communications and its local organs should in the shortest time possible be merged with the trade union organisation of the railway proletariat on the one hand and on the other hand with the normal institutions of the Peoples' Commissariat for Ways and Communications.

XIII. Food Problems.

The following are the prominent problems of the food policy:

1. To collect at the cost of the greatest possible exertion of our forces a food reserve of a few hundred million poods.

2. To distribute this reserve to the food bases of the principal districts of industrial concentration.

3. Closely and strictly to subject the Food policy especially as far as distribution is concerned, to the interests of the revival of industry and transport. (It is necessary in the first place to supply the most important industrial enterprises and the transport apparatus; a more flexible manoeuvring must be employed in connection with the changes arising in industrial undertakings, the introduction of a system of premiums in kind and so on). One of the most important problems both as regards the re-establishment of industry as well as in the interests of foreign commercial exchange is the formation of a reserve of raw material. The supply of raw material must be based on the system of government levy and the obligatory delivery of raw material in accordance with

the government rules. At the same time wherever raw material is supplied a system for the payment of goods thus supplied should be introduced by products and semi-manufactures to the extent and in a form to be established in each individual case, as that is already being practised with regard to hemp, flax and so forth.

XIV. The Labour Armies.

The utilisation of military detachments for labour is of equal importance from a practical economic and socialist educational aspect. The following are the conditions for a beneficial and extensive application of military labour:

a) simple character of work, for which all the Red Army solidiers are equally fit;

b) the application of a system of allotted tasks, the non-fulfilment of which leads to a decrease of rations;

c) the introduction of the premium system;

d) the participation in the work in the same labour district of a number of communists whose example is to influence the Red Army detachments.

The drafting into the labour army of larger military units will inevitably result in a higher percentage of Red Army men not being engaged in production. Therefore the utilisation of entire labour armies under conditions of preservation of the military apparatus is justifiable only where is necessary for military purposes to preserve the army in its entirety. But as soon as necessity disappears in this direction the usual large staffs and administrations are to be dismissed and its best elements consisting of skilled workers to be utilised for the formation of small pioneer labour detachments to be sent to the most important industrial enterprises.

XV. Labour Desertion.

Owing to the fact that a considerable part of the workers either in search of better food conditions or

often for purposes of speculation voluntarily leave their places of employment or change from place to place, which inevitably impairs production and deteriorates the general position of the working class—the Congress considers one of the most important problems of the Soviet Government and of the trade union organisations to be the establishment of a firm, systematic and insistent struggle against labour desertion. The way to fight this is to publish a column of deserters on fines, the formation of labour detachments of deserters under fire and finally, internment in concentration camps.

XVI. Subbotniki.

More attention should be given to the free labour (Subotniki) Saturdays taking place in the provinces. Such work should be selected for the Subotniki as is of greater interest to the local population; this work should be given the character of a collective labour effort for widely understood aims, and attempts should be made not only to attract non-party men to this work but even the general local population, men and women. A carefully elaborated technical plan of every Subotnik is of equal importance, as well as a strict and most advantageous distribution of forces and an essentially economical utilisation of such forces. Only under such conditions will the Subbotniki take root, attract ever new masses and enthuse the ordinary work with new initiative and a renewed will.

XVI. Locomotive Repairs and the Construction of New Locomotives.

In addition to the encouragement which is given to the initiative of every individual group of workers in the work of repairing our rolling stock it is, however, also necessary to understand that this makeshift method of helping the transport can only bear a temporary character, as this method absorbs too much skilled labour and

employs factory plants which have originally been set aside for other purposes.

In view of the fact that little hope can justifiably be entertained for obtaining in the nearest few months or even years a large number of locomotives from abroad the inevitable necessity arises for a large-scale manufacture of the most indispensable reserve parts, and later on also of locomotives to an extent far exceeding the pre-war output. The one condition of success in this direction is the exact elaboration and the energetic realisation of a wide plan calculated for a considerable number of the most suitable works on the American system of production, i. e. of a strict division of the process of production to detailed functions, with the substitution of skilled workers by others who are only partly skilled but who are to work under the guidance of trainers.

XVIII. Model Enterprises.

Along with the general measures for raising the economic production of the country and the industrial output of labour the Congress also deems it very important to introduce in suitable districts the establishment of model enterprises of the principal branches of industry. These enterprises which are to be selected in accordance with the general economic plan for technical, geographical and other considerations are to be speedily supplied with additional plans, with the necessary amount of labour power and engineers, as well as with provisions, fuel and raw material. The best administrators and engineers are to be placed at the head of these enterprises. All the political propaganda and other such needs of these model enterprises are to be supplied by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party under its direct supervision and control. Reports of the progress of work on these model enterprises are to be periodically supplied to and published by the press. As soon as that will become

possible technical and administrative courses of study are to be established in connection with the above enterprises, becoming a school of industrial education and the hearth of technical and economic creative genius for an extensive region and a vast industrial sphere if, not even for the entire country.

XIX. Paper and Printing.

In view of the fact that the first condition of the success of the Soviet Republic in all departments, including the economic, is chiefly a printed systematic agitation—the Congress draws the attention of the Soviet Government to the deplorable state in which our paper and printing industries find themselves. The ever decreasing number of newspapers fail to reach not only the peasant but even the worker, in addition to which our poor technical means render the papers hardly readable. The Congress strongly appeals to the Supreme Council of Public Economy, to the corresponding trade unions and to other interested institutions to apply all efforts to raise the quantity of paper manufactures, to improve its quality, to introduce general system and order in the printing business which will secure for worker-peasant Russia a supply of socialist printed matter.

XX. The First of May.

In keeping with the great immediate problems with which the socialist revolution is faced the Congress decrees:

That the International Proletarian Festival of the 1st of May, the date of which falls this year upon a Saturday, should be transformed into a grand All-Russian Labour Saturday (Subbotnik).

The Organisation of Connections Between the Economic Commissariats.

With the aim of assuring the complete introduction of the uniform economic plan as confirmed by the Congress of the Party the Congress charges the Central Committee within the shortest time to draw up a system of connections between the Supreme Council of Public Economy and the institutions which are closely bound with the Economic Commissariats (Commissariats for Food, Ways and Communications, Agriculture) in their daily routine of work.

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The Question of Trade Unions and their Organisations.

I. The General Conditions and General Problems of the Trade Unions in the Epoch of Proletarian Dictatorship.

Under proletarian dictatorship the trade unions change from organs of struggle against the traders in labour power and the capitalist ruling class, into an apparatus of the dominating working class. The principal problems of the trade unions are those of economic and educational organisation. These problems the trade unions are to solve not entirely of their own accord, not as an independent organised power but as one of the principal apparatus of the Soviet State guided by the Communist Party. Only under this condition will a firm system of proletarian dictatorship be established and industry revived.

II. The Trade Unions and the Soviet State.

1) The Soviet State is the widest imaginable form of labour organisation, which is actually realising the construction of communism, constantly attracting to this work

ever growing masses of the peasantry. On the other hand the Soviet State represents a labour organisation which has at its disposal all the material means of compulsion. In its present form of proletarian dictatorship the Soviet State is the lever of an economic upheaval. No question is therefore involved of opposing the organs of the trade unions to the organs of the Soviet Government.

2) Politics may be said to be the most concentrated expression of the generalisations and culmination of economics. Therefore any antagonism of the economic organisation of the working class known as the trade unions towards its political organisation, i. e. the Soviets, is an absurdity and is a deviation from Marxism towards bourgeois ideas and particularly towards bourgeois trade union prejudices. This kind of antagonism is still more prejudicial and absurd during the epoch of proletarian dictatorship when all the struggle of the proletariat and the whole of its political and economic activity should more than ever be concentrated, united and directed by one single will and bound by an iron unity.

3) The trade unions, in their quality of a school for communism and of a link between the section of the proletariat which has not as yet completely liberated itself from the old guild and trade union traditions on the one side and the Communist party on the other side—should educate the masses, organise them culturally, politically and administratively and should raise them to the level of communism; the trade unions should prepare the most backward section of the proletariat for the part of builders of the communist order which is being created by the Soviet State under its present historical form of proletarian dictatorship.

4) These call for the need of a close union between the Soviet apparatus and the trade union apparatus. In view of the fact that the Soviet Government represents a wider all-embracing organisation concentrating the entire power of the proletariat it becomes apparent that with

the growth of the development of the communist consciousness and the creative capacities of the masses the trade unions will gradually change into auxiliary organs of the proletarian state. It is not reasonable to suppose that the contrary is likely to happen.

5) In pursuing this line the trade unions carry out their most important function, namely, that of economic administration, by penetrating into the Soviet organisations, and gradually become the principal basis of the Soviet economic apparatus.

III. The Trade Unions and the Communist Party.

1) The Communist Party is the organisation of the vanguard of the working class, the guide of the proletarian movement and of the struggle for the establishment of the communist system.

2) The Communist Party exercises a great influence on the non-party sections of the workers through the communist circles and fractions which are to be found in all labour organisations, and what is of the greatest importance, which are to be found in all trade union organisations. Proletarian dictatorship and the construction of socialism is only possible to the extent to which the trade unions though nominally remaining non-party in reality adhere to the communist policy and actually realise this policy in life.

3) It is therefore necessary that every trade union possess a strictly disciplined, organised fraction of the Communist Party. Every fraction of the Party represents a section of the local organisation which is under the control of the party committee, whilst fractions of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions are under the control of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. All the regulations of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions concerning conditions and organisation of labour are binding upon all trade union orga-

nisations as well as upon members of the party working therein and can be repealed by no other party organs except the Central Committee of the Party. The local committees which control and direct the ideologic (propaganda) activity of the trade unions are not entitled to control or direct the said trade unions in any other of their activities. The relationship between the local party committees and the trade union fractions are established with due precision by corresponding paragraphs of the Party Rules.

VI. The Forms of Participation of the Trade Unions in the Economic Apparatus of the Proletarian State.

1) In view of the fact that the trade unions uniting the workers of the various large branches of industry, are closely connected with such industries and naturally enough under the circumstances represent here a competent organisation,—they therefore represent the chief bases of those economic organisations which direct and control industry.

2) This is manifested by the fact that although the trade unions represent no individual separate organisation and can under no circumstances be said exclusively and entirely to direct industry in the Soviet Republic they are yet an important factor participating as they do in every detail of the organisation of production. It must also be mentioned that not a single trade union organisation is guilty of directly interfering with the course of production in any enterprise.

3) The factory or works committee is the lowest section or group of the trade union. Without interfering with the administration of production of a given enterprise the Factory Committee performs the following functions: it assists in the raising of labour discipline by all measures possible including disciplinary courts of honour; along with the general political propaganda it carries on also an industrial labour propaganda; it attracts the workers into

participation in labour inspection, educates the workers and interests them in the general activity and role of the factory or works, (this is done by means of reports, accounts, etc.) the factory or works committees also assist in the selection of labour administrators and control the activity of the commissions in charge of instituting and changing the rates of pay.

4. The Trade Unions participate in the formation of the administration of factories or works. This is effected with the consent and agreement of the corresponding organs of the Supreme Council of Public Economy; the principle of election must now give place to that of selection which is to be based on practical experience and qualifications, on technical competency, firmness, organising capacity and business efficiency of the candidates.

5. Regional administrations and administrations of factories or works consist of persons appointed with the consent and agreement of the Central Committee of the corresponding union on the one hand, of the Collegiate or board of the Chief Department and of the Centre on the other, or, in the event of direct control of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, by agreement with and under conditions of the final sanction of the Presidium of the latter.

6. The Presidiums or boards of the government (provincial) Councils of Public Economy are formed by agreement with the provincial trade union and the government (provincial) Executive Committee. The Chief Departments and Centres are formed by agreement with the Central Committees of the trade unions and the corresponding sections of the Supreme Council of Public Economy. Finally, in so far as the Supreme Council of Public Economy itself is concerned the candidates for its Presidium are appointed by the Convention of Councils of Public Economy and are formed with the close participation of the Trade Unions.

7. All other leading economic organisations, such as those which are in charge of mobilisation, distribution, the registration and protection of labour, in the form of

the Chief Committee for the Protection of Labour and so forth are also to be formed analogically to the organisations set out in § 6.

Thus it is obvious that the trade unions play a most important and vital role in all the spheres of industrial administration and in the administration of public economy generally; this role is destined constantly to increase with the growth of the level of the civilisation of the working class as a whole.

V. Present Tasks of the Trade-Unions.

1) The defeat of the white armies and the problems of peaceful construction in connection with the catastrophic position of public economy demand an extraordinary straining of all the powers of the proletariat and the drafting into the process of public labour of the wide masses of the peasantry. The trade unions should therefore use their full apparatus for the participation in this difficult and intense struggle for economic revival.

2) In accordance with the above all the methods of the activity of the trade unions should be radically changed. Since the proletariat as a class is faced with the task of a transition of its method of work to that of „war time work“, that is to say to the highest degree of precision, execution and responsibility, intensity and rapidity of execution and selflessness and self-sacrifice on the side of the workers,—all this equally applies first of all to the organs of industrial administration generally and consequently also to the trade unions.

3) In simulation to the leading party of the proletariat the trade unions should recognize their own apparatus; they should first of all destroy all the relics of disorganisation and carelessness, introduce a spirit of strict devotion to the business in hand and of discipline, as well as of complete responsibility for the execution of all and every form of activity or work with which they are entrusted.

4) The trade unions should take upon themselves the task of explaining to the wide masses of the working class

the dire necessity for the reorganisation of the apparatus of industrial administration in the direction of greater flexibility and efficiency; the trade unions are to make it clear that this can be achieved only by a maximum decrease of the collegiates or boards of administration and the gradual introduction of single man management of all industrial units.

In this agitation it is necessary to make the following points particularly prominent:

a) single man management is in no case antagonistic to labour administration generally; on the contrary a more economic and extensive labour administration demands single man management,—this will enable the number of labour administrators to be distributed among a great number of the factories;

b) single man management does not in the least encroach upon or limit the rights neither of class, nor the „rights“ of the trade unions, as no class can adopt an arbitrary rule and as every form of administration depends upon its technical advantageousness; in all instances leaders or administrators are „appointed“ by the entire ruling class;

c) single man management secures the maximum of efficiency and responsibility;

d) single man management ultimately represents the manifestation of proletarian dictatorship even in the cases of administration by a „specialist“; here also proletarian dictatorship not only directs the work into a definite groove but in the persons of its labour commissaries keeps track of everything;

e) single man management does not exclude the wide masses of the workers from administration; but it limits the functions of direct administration to those of training, which must in itself constitute an entirely separate sphere of industry and a special problem. At the present moment the necessity for such a division has become categorical. On the other hand the attraction of the masses into admini-

nistration by means of collegiates consisting of groups of three and five men would be incorrect.

5) One of the principal problems of the trade unions is the formation of officer cadres from our workers for the needs of industry, i.e. vocational and technical training. The attraction of the wide masses of workers into administration, their training, labour propaganda and so forth remains as previously a question of the utmost importance, in view of the fact that without the solution of these problems the raising of production is an impossibility, which in its turn makes also impossible the revival of economic life on socialist principles.

6) The Congress presumes that at the present, more than at any other time, the most serious attention should be paid by the party to the consolidation of the trade unions; the first thing to undertake with a view to this is to solidify the personnel of the trade unions by complementing them with a number of the most competent and loyal members of the communist party, preferably such who have gone through the severe school of civil war. The party is to resist every effort to nullify the importance of the trade unions.



Attitude Towards the Cooperatives.

In view of the party programme resolutions passed by the 8th Congress which deal in part with agricultural economy and distribution and which in the opinion of the Congress point out a correct road for the transition of the old petit bourgeois co-operation into a cooperation guided by the proletariat and the semi proletariat,—the Congress submits to the Central Committee a proposal to be guided in its work in this sphere by the following directions:

I.

In the sphere of consumers co-operatives it is necessary

1. To complete the work which was begun by the decree of 20th. March and the subsequent activity of the party in connection with obtaining a predominating influence for the party in every branch of the organisation of consumers cooperatives.

2. For the purposes of obviating parallel activity of both cooperative and Soviet organs to establish a gradual liquidation of all local cooperative societies, provincial and central branches of all those departments which are of a parallel and competitive nature to soviet departments. Such sections, namely industrial, timber, agricultural, cooperative, educational and others are to be transferred to the corresponding government departments such as the Supreme Council of Public Economy, the Peoples Food Commissariat, the Commissariat for Agriculture, Commissariat for Education and so forth. The period for such transfer is to be determined by the preparedness and fitness of the corresponding Soviet department to take over the control of the above institutions.

3. Fully to enlist the cooperative apparatus for the purpose of supplying the population on the principle of the Food policy established by the Food Commissariat. Those inter-relations between the cooperatives and the State organs are most correct and up-to-date under which the local and central cooperative societies under the control of the Food Commissariat are in position to carry out technical and economic operations under the directions and immediate control of the Food Commissariat; this is most of all realisable in the organisation of distribution which is taking place at the present time on the basis of the 20th March decree; as regards activity in connection with supply which reflects the constantly increasing application of the principle of compulsory State levy and State service—this is to be exclusively the competency and under the authority of the economic State organs; these are fully entitled to utilise the cooperative apparatus in the quality of a technical organ under its control for the supply both of non-monopolised as well as monopolised products.

The cooperative apparatus of supply is to be utilised first of all for the collection and supply of such products and articles of first necessity which are not obtained by government levy and to which State compulsion is therefore not applicable.

All State orders regarding supply are binding upon the cooperative organisations as this is the only condition under which the cooperative apparatus can be fully made use of not only for purposes of distribution, but also in the sphere of supply.

II.

As regards the agricultural and commercial cooperatives the Congress completely approves of the first step made on the basis of the 27th. January decree in accordance with which the organisations of individual groups of well-to-do peasants, which are amalgamated in agricultural and home (koustar) industrial cooperatives become subject to and under the control of consumer-cooperatives in view of the fact that the latter include the entire labour and peasant population; that is to say the complete abolition of the existence of the All-Russian agricultural and industrial cooperatives and their amalgamation with the Central Union of which they are to become sections.

In addition to this the Congress entrusts the Central Committee to strive to achieve the re-organisation of the less important and smaller agricultural and commercial co-operative societies.

The Congress expresses the opinion that this re-organisation is to be guided by the following two principles:

1. All attempts should be made that the initiative and independence of the peasant producers who are amalgamated and are amalgamating into these co-operatives are not suppressed and that the quantity of the products which they manufacture is not decreased but is on the contrary increased.

2. To put the various forms of agricultural and commercial cooperatives of a provincial and regional scale under the control of the corresponding unions of cooperative societies with the retention of the rights and privileges of autonomous industrial sections. As far as the industrial economic relations are concerned the agricultural and commercial co-operatives are entirely under the management and control of the Supreme Council of Public Economy and of the Peoples Commissariat for Agriculture; the consumers cooperatives should bear only an administrative political character.

The logical and consistent realisation of the principles which form the basis of the decrees passed on March 20th. 1919 and the 27th January 1920 in the direction indicated by the present resolution will lead to the reorganisation of the cooperatives from a more or less narrow form of amalgamation of individual privileged groups of the population under conditions of capitalist society into new cooperative forms; these forms will be in keeping with the economic and the political conditions of proletarian dictatorship and will further be capable of serving as a basis for the organisation of supply of the population on communistic lines.

The Question of Organisation.

§ 1.

The immediate organizing problems of our party are always closely connected with the immediate tasks of a general political and social economic character. At the present moment our party is faced with a special problem of organisation in connection with economic problems. The Party will have to coordinate its work in accordance with the new economic problems, to reconstruct its ranks and to carry out a radical redistribution of forces.

§ 2.

It is the business of the party to explain to every one of its members that at the present moment when the Russian Communist Party is responsible for the economic life of the country, the most lowly and common work in the economic sphere is of the greatest importance and is to be considered responsible party work.

The following are the principal forms of party work at the present time: factory work of groups led by communists, party organisation work on railways and transport generally, work in connection with the realisation of various forms of compulsory labour service, work of communists in organisations for the supply of wood, communal feeding organisations, barracks and house committee organisations, work in connection with the repair and the proper working of public baths, work in connection with the cleaning and repairing of houses, guidance and control of work carried on in public gardens and public places, schools, social maintenance institutions, etc., etc.

§ 3.

The chief organising problem of the party is correctly to distribute the party work amongst every one of the six hundred thousand members. The general rule is that the local organisations send each of their members to work at his trade or speciality. The regrouping of party forces in every town, province and factory must be carried out from the point of view of their use in the various processes of production, the most important concerns should be the first to be supplied with communist-workers, whilst within the latter the communists are to be distributed in such a way that every workshop possesses a formidable communist nucleus capable of independent initiative. This is the point of view which guides the Central Committee in the redistribution of party forces on a national scale.

§ 4.

To carry out successfully the task pointed out in § 3, the registration of party members must be organized on a proper scale. The basis of this registration must be on the system of a single party ticket. In the registration of the members of the party both the local organisations as well as the Central Committee should pay particular attention to the member's trade, to his economic and organizing qualifications and to the part which he can take in the economic revival of the country.

§ 5.

This basis of exact registration of the members of the party should be utilised in the interests of introducing a systematic distribution of the party forces as well as to a gradual transition of the members from limited or less responsible work to work of a more responsible and wider nature. For the purpose of realising this principal task the Congress recommends the following measures:

a) every lower group (collective) transfers once in every one or two months a list of names to the corresponding higher organised group; this list is to be composed of 5—10% of the staff of the lower group pointing out their work in the past and indicating the particular kind of work for which the group considers the comrades named best suitable. Similar lists are periodically supplied by the factory and works communists: groups or sections to the district committees and by the latter to the Central Committee. At the same time the groups (collectives) are recommended to compile the said lists with the greatest care and attention in view of the fact that the members of the group bear full responsibility for the comrades whom they recommend;

b) to speed up and successfully raise the level of

the work of the party workers in the economic sphere; all party organisations should pay the most serious attention to the communist fractions which are to be found in non-party organisations, i. e. to communist fractions in trade unions, Soviets and so forth. The above fractions are to be requested to introduce the same form of lists as that has been pointed out above concerning party groups (collectives).

c) The party organisations are to pursue a similar policy in the organisation of party conferences. The party organisation should have a group of comrades present at every non-party conference, who are to examine the men forming the conference for the purpose of selecting suitable Soviet workers who could be entrusted with responsible work. For this purpose it is necessary to organise extensive non-party conferences, which are to be carefully prepared and initiated in practical questions of economic construction not only in large provincial cities or in towns generally but also in villages, amongst the Red Army, the militia and especially amongst women and young workers, boys and girls;

d) local party organisations should adopt all other possible measures which are likely to lead to the desired aim.

§ 6.

Communists who form part of the staff of factories or works enjoy no advantages whatever over the rank and file of the workers; their duties however are far greater than that of the average workers. Every one of them, as far as the every-day life of the enterprise is concerned, must present an example of zeal, precision and performance of duty. The party groups which are to be found in industrial enterprises take care, without interfering in the administration of the latter, that all the direction of the administration are carried out unconditionally; they are to render every assistance both to the administration and

to the factory or works committees in all the latter's attempts to raise the productivity of labour; they are also to utilise all their party authority and influence which are to be as widely spread as possible amongst the working masses.

§ 7.

In all labour mobilisations as well as in the organisation of labour „Saturdays“ and „Sundays“ the local committee must keep a strict watch on the conduct of the party members in accordance with the corresponding instructions. All those who in one or another way elude the fulfilment of their labour duty are not only to be expelled from the party organisation but are also to be entered upon a black list so as to prevent them in the future from occupying any post requiring public confidence.

§ 8.

Party propaganda should bear an economic, more concrete, practical character, it should utilise the work of the party in the struggle against economic ruin, etc., for the purpose of explaining to the wide masses of the people the real nature of communism.

The party press should pay particular attention to questions of an economic organisation character: it should fully, exactly and concretely reflect the course of industrial life, the success or non-success of individual enterprises, the growth or decrease of productivity of labour, pointing out the particular work or services of individual members of the party and so forth. The party press should become a powerful organ for the stimulation of labour enthusiasm and emulation. Particular attention should be paid to the further development of party schools of both the lower and higher training types to prepare workers for participation in industrial management.

The Central Committee should elaborate educational curriculums and a more or less approximate programme for analogous schools, paying particular attention to the diffusion of elementary technical knowledge and to the utilisation of all technical methods.

The Congress considers it indispensable to increase the work allotted to the party members in the above mentioned directions in accordance with the resolution passed at the December All-Russian Party Congress. The Congress considers it desirable to issue a Bulletin of the Central Committee to serve as a guide for agitation and propaganda.

§ 9.

In the work of distributing economic organizing work amongst the party members the party organisation should in no case attempt to replace the Soviets or in any way whatever to compete with them. The whole work of the party organs in this sphere should be carried on through the corresponding Soviet organs. The inter-relations between the party organisations and the Soviets are to be dominated with strict precision by the policy set forth in the party resolution of the 8th. Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in the party Statutes and in the resolutions passed at the last All-Russian Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

§ 10.

The Congress draws the attention of the party organisations to the necessity of increasing the organizing and propaganda work amongst the peasantry, and especially amongst the agricultural proletariat; preparing and selecting for this work special cadres of trained workers.

§ 11.

For the purpose of achieving a uniform construction of local organisations and their sections,—the Central Com-

mittee should in addition to the party regulations elaborate a single scheme for the establishment of local organisations with an exact definition of their problems and tasks and of their inter-relation with the party committee.

§ 12.

The party committees are to unite all the party work of a given territory. All the party members of a group of a certain territory are to form part of the corresponding party regions enjoying all the rights and bearing all the responsibility of full members. Amalgamations of party members under any other system whilst remaining at the same time under the control of the Central Committee as that is the case with the Chief Section of the Political Propaganda of Ways of Communications are permissible only in exceptional cases under a special regulation of the Central Committee. In such cases there should be established the closest contact possible between the organ which is being created and the local party committee, in such a manner that the local Party Committee appoints a candidate to act as a superintendent of a section of an analogous party organ. The Central Committee of the latter enjoys the privilege of confirmation or rejection. The Party Committee also enjoys the right of expressing its opinion in favour of rejection but does not enjoy the right of independent rejection. The necessity is recognized for appointing as superintendent a person belonging to the local committee. In the event of the creation of such an organ the local committee retains the right of disposing of the party members who have been registered for work at a certain Political Section, however with the consent of the latter. The Political Section disposes of its members only with the consent of the party committee.

§ 13.

The Congress entrusts the Central Committee to elaborate the plan of its work in such a way as to:

1) supplement the Secretariat by three members of the Central Committee who are to constantly work therein;

2) to transfer to the secretariat all the immediate questions of an organizing and executive character, retaining five members of the Central Committee to act as the general guide of the organizing work of the Central Committee.

§ 14.

The Congress finds it necessary once more to confirm the rule that all the Soviet work of the party members in the provinces as well as in the centre is to be guided by an undeviating fulfilment of the resolutions of the 7th. Congress of Soviets regarding Soviet construction.

§ 15.

In places where an oblast economic bureau will be established the Central Committee may form an oblast party bureau for the purpose of enlarging and combining the party work in the said economic district.

§ 16.

The Congress entrusts the Central Committee with the task of elaborating instructions for the party code.

All material that concerns Soviet construction is to be handed over to the Communist Fraction of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.



The Adoption of the Militia System.

1. The approach of the end of the civil war and the favourable changes in the international position of Soviet Russia put to the fore the question of radical changes in

our military system in view of the immediate economic and cultural needs of the country.

2. On the other hand it is necessary to be quite clear regarding this point that so long as the imperialist bourgeoisie remains in power in the most important States—the socialist Republic can under no circumstances consider itself out of all danger.

The progress of events is likely once more to throw the imperialists, who are continually losing ground, upon the road of deplorable adventures directed against Soviet Russia.

Hence arises the necessity for maintaining our military system on a proper footing for the purpose of protecting the revolution.

3. In the present transition period, which is likely to be of long duration, the organisation of military forces should be of such a nature as to assure for all workers the necessary military training without interference with productive labour. Only the Red Worker-Peasant Militia which is to be built on territorial lines will be capable of achieving the desired result.

4. The essence of the Soviet Militia System is to consist in connecting the army as closely as possible with the process of production, with a view of making the labour power of a definite economic region also the labour power of the said local military detachment.

5. The territorial division of the militia sections of regiments, brigades and divisions should coincide with the territorial industrial conditions in such a manner that the hearths of industry and the agricultural localities relating to them form a basis for militia sections.

6. The organisation of the Worker-Peasant Militia is based on politically, militarily and technically fully trained cadres; these cadres are to keep a registration and control of all those workers and peasants trained by them whom it is possible at any moment to draft into the militia district, to equip, put under arms and lead into battle.

7. The transition to the Militia System must necessarily be gradual and in dependence on the military, international and diplomatic position of the Soviet Republic, with the strict condition, however, that the system retains its full capacity for protecting the Republic.

8. With the gradual demobilisation of the Red Army its best sections are to be displaced in a manner most suitable to the local industrial and general conditions of life and which will tend to secure a ready apparatus for the administration of the militia sections.

9. The staff of the militia is later on to draw ever fresh forces by means of a close connection with the economic life of a given region. This can be effected by the commanding staff of a division situated on a certain territory embracing a group of let us say, mining works with an adjacent rural district, being formed of the best elements of the local proletariat.

10. For the purpose of thus reinvigorating the sections training courses for the commanding staff should be territorially distributed in correspondence with the economic militia areas, which courses are to be attended by the best representatives of the local workers and peasants.

11. Military training on militia lines which is to secure a high fighting capacity of the militia army is to consist:

a) of a pre-service training; in this direction the military authorities work hand in hand with the educational authorities, with trade unions, party organisations, the young peoples leagues, sporting associations and others.

b) of the military training of the military service age; the period of this training is to be gradually shortened and the training itself to bear the character of a military political school.

c) of short repeated recruiting, the aim of which is to maintain the fighting capacity of the militia sections.

12 The organisation of militia sections for the military defence of the country should be adapted to a sufficient degree for labour service, i. e. the section should be able

to form labour detachments and supply them with the necessary organisers and apparatus.

13. Developing in the direction of an armed communist nation, the militia in its present period should preserve in its organisation all the traits of proletarian dictatorship.

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Work Amongst the Women Workers.

Taking into consideration the importance of the participation of working and peasant women in party work and of the role which working class women and the women of the poorer sections of the peasantry play in the economic life and in the construction of the Soviet Republic, especially in connection with the immediate question of the struggle against the industrial and supply disorganisation, public feeding and education, the struggle against illiteracy and so forth—the 9th. All-Russian Congress of the Communist Party considers all work among the women proletariat as a question of immediate importance and as an essential part of the general work of the party.

The 9th. All-Russian Congress proposes to all government (provincial) committees, ouyezd committees and communist groups to pay the most serious attention and to take a most active part in the work amongst the women workers and peasant women; to organise in connection with our party committees women sections, wherever such have not yet been formed and to enlarge the work in those where they exist in conformity with the instructions of the Central Committee; all responsible organisers and superintendents of such sections are to be selected from amongst the best party members.

The Congress proposes to all party organisations to carry on a propaganda amongst the women workers in trade unions, to attract them for labour service and for participation in the Communist Labour „Saturdays“.

The Congress points out the necessity of abolishing

illiteracy amongst women workers and peasant women, by way of establishing schools for adults, reading rooms and meetings on questions of the day.

A serious attitude towards the work among the women section of proletariat of the town and country and the active participation in it of all the members of the party will swell the ranks of the party with fresh forces, will infuse in it new workers and fighters in every sphere of Soviet construction and for the realisation of the communist system.

Appeal of the 9th. Congress to the Local Organisation of the R. C. P.

The state of transport is still menacing. The mobilisation of communists gave until the present time only 1.000 men instead of the required 5.000. It is observed that the local organisations do not always send their most experienced organisers and trusted communists for transport work.

The Congress of the Russian Communist Party most insistently reminds all local organisations of their duty towards the railway transport on which depends the fate of the revolution.

1) The 5.000 communists demanded by the Central Committee should be made to appear fully within the forthcoming fortnight.

2) The party committees should offer to the Chief Section of the Political Propaganda of the Railways, its best members.

3) The party committees should support the above section and its local organs in their activity for the improvement of the railway transport.

**Secretary of the 9th. Congress of
The Russian Communist Party.**

A. Yenukidze.

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**END OF
TITLE**